

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0606

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TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT. ECONOMIST FOREIGN REPORT ON SECRETARY'S
MEMORANDUM

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF ECONOMIST'S APRIL 7 FOREIGN
REPORT STORY ENTITLED "THE KISSINGER MEMORANDUM".

"FOREIGN REPORT CAN DISCLOSE TNAT ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN
IS PLANNING TO SPEND THE MONTHS OF MAY, JUNE AND JULY IN
AMERICA. HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE WILL PROBABLY
BE TO COLLECT AN HONORARY DEGREE AT HARTFORD UNIVERSITY.
A NEW SERIES OF WARNINGS FROM SOLZHENITSYN ON THE PERILS
OF "CALCULATED PRAGMATISM" IN DEALING WITH RUSSIA WILL
ADD TO THE ALREADY INTENSE FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE THAT IS
RAGING IN WASHINGTON. AND CAN BE EXPECTEO TO ASSIST THE
TWO PRINCIPAL CRITICS OF DETENTE DIPLOMACY WHO ARE
FIGHTING FOR THEIR PARTIES' PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS,
SENATOR HENRY ("SCOOP") JACKSON AND RONALD REAGAN -
ALTHOUGH SOLZHENITSYN WILL AVOID ANY DIRECT COMMENT ON
THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

PRESIDENT FORD HAS CAUSE TO BE CONCERNED BY THIS
PROSPECT. SO HAS THE MAN WHO ADVISED HIM TO MAKE THE
POLITICAL BLUNDER OF DECLINING TO RECEIVE SOLZHENITSYR
AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST YEAR AND WHO IS THE CHIEF
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REPRESENTATIVE, IN THE EYES OF HIS ADMIRERS AS WELL AS

HIS DETRACTORS, OF ITS POLICY OF "CALCULATED PRAGMATISM":
HENRY KISSINGER.

THE CURRENT EXAMINATION OF MR. KISSINGER'S POLICY SEEMS
LIKELY TO BE PURSUED WITH GREAT THOROUGHNESS. LAST WEEK,
FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHED KEY CHUNKS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL
SUMMARY OF HELMUT SONNENFELDT'S COUNSELLOR AT THE STATE
DEPARTMENT) VIEWS ON FOREIGN POLICY. AS EXPRESSED TO
AMERICAN AMBASSADORS IN LONDON LAST DECEMBER. ONE
ESSENTIAL POINT ABOUT THIS MEMORANDUM NEEDS TO BE
STRESSED. ALTHOUGH A SUMMARY OF SONNENFELDT'S VIEWS,
IT WAS ISSUED OVER KISSINGER'S SIGNATURE, WITH AN INTRO-
DUCTORY PARAGRAPH (APPARENTLY BY KISSINGER) STATING THAT
THE SUMMARY WAS INTENDED FOR THE "BACKGROUND GUIDANCE"
OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AND OFFICIALS WHO WERE ON THE
LIMITED CIRCULATION LIST. THIS DIMINISHED THE IMPACT
OF MR. KISSINGER'S RECENT EFFORTS TO DISSOCIATE HIMSELF
FROM VIEWS THAT HAD BEEN QUOTED FROM THE TEXT. HIS
SIGNATURE IS ON IT. AND PRESUMABLY NOT BY A BUREAUCRATIC
OVERSIGHT.

THIS LEAVES THE QUESTION OF WHETHER MR. SONNENFELDT
ACTUALLY MEANT SOME OF THE THINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM IN
THE OFFICIAL SUMMARY. TWO FURTHER PASSAGES FROM THAT
SUMMARY CAN NOW BE QUOTED BY FOREIGN REPORT; THEY ARE
BOTH CONTROVERSIAL' AND MR. KISSINGER IS NOW SAYING THEY
ARE BOTH THE RESULT OF SLOPPY STATE DEPARTMENT DRAFTING.
THEY READ AS FOLLOWS:

ON AN "ORGANIC BASE" FOR RUSSIA IN EASTERN EUROPE. "WE
SEEK TO INFLUENCE THE EMERGENCE OF THE SOVIET IMPERIAL
POWER BY MAKING THE BASE MORE NATURAL AND ORGANIC SO THAT
IT WILL NOT REMAIN FOUNDED IN SHEER POWER ALONE. BUT
THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE OPEN TO US OTHER THAN THAT OF
INFLUENCING THE WAY SOVIET POWER IS USED." MR.
KISSINGER MADE SOME PLAY WITH THE FACT THAT THE
SONNENFELDT CABLE DOES NOT CONTAIN THE PHRASE "ORGANIC
UNION". AS USED IN THE HEADLINE OF AN ARTICLE BY THE
COLUMNISTS EVANS AND NOVAK. THE VAGUE CONCEPT OF AN
"ORGANIC BASE". HOWEVER. APOEARS TO MEAN SOMETHING VERY
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SIMILAR.

ON JUGOSLAVIA: "OUR BASIC POLICY CONTINUES TO BE THAT
WHICH WE HAVE PURSUED SINCE 1948-49. KEEPING JUGOSLAVIA
IN A POSITION OF SUBSTANTIAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE
SOVIET UNION. NOW AT THE SAME TIME WE WOULD LIKE THEM
TO BE LESS OBNOXIOUS, AND WE SHOULD ALLOW THEM TO GET
AWAY WITH VERY LITTLE. WE SHOULD ESPECIALLY DISABUSE

THEM OF ANY NOTION THAT OUR INTEREST IN THEIR RELATIVE
INDEPENDENCE IS GREATER THAN THEIR OWN AND, THEREFORE,
THEY HAVE A FREE RIDE."

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TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT A SOVIET ATTEMPT TO BRING
JUGOSLAVIA BACK IN TO THE WARSAW PACT AFTER TITO'S
DEATH COULD PROVE TO BE A DECISIVE TEST-POINT
FOR THE EAST-WEST BALANCE, THESE WORDS COULD BE
INTERPRETED AS EITHER (A) A CAMOUFLAGED DISAVOWAL OF
AMERICAN INTEREST IN SUSTAINING JUGOSLAV INDEPENDENCE;
OR (B) A RESTATEMENT OF THE OLD COMMITMENT, COLOURED BY
THE VIEW THAT THE JUGOSLAVS SHOULD BE MORE GRATEFUL FOR
ANY SUPPORT THEY GET. THERE IS A GENUINE AMBIGUITY ABOUT
THE TEXT AS IT STANDS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT WHEN
SONNENFELDT EXPRESSED THE WISH THAT THE JUGOSLAV GOVERN-
MENT SHOULD BE LESS "OBNOXIOUS", HE WAS REFERRING TO ITS
DEALINGS WITH AMERICA, NOT RUSSIA. BUT, IN THE CONTEXT
OF HIS EARLIER REMARKS ABOUT THE NEED FOR A MORE
"ORGANIC" RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA,
IN ORDER TO AVOID DANGEROUS TENSIONS AND POSSIBLY "WORLD
WAR III", IT HAS BEEN READ BY THE CRITICS IN THE
OPPOSITE WAY. AS ADVICE TO THE JUGOSLAVS NOT TO BE TOO

STROPPIY TOWARDS RUSSIA.

IN ANY EVENT, THERE ARE RUMOURS IN WASHINGTON THAT MR. KISSINGER IS PREPARING TO SACRIFICE SONNENFELDT TO THE CURRENT. CHORUS OF ANTI-DETENTE CRITICISM AND MR. UNCLASSIFIED

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FORD'S POLITICAL NEED TO CONVINCE MR. REAGAN'S POTENTIAL SUOPORTERS THAT HE IS NOT "SOFT" (REAGAN HAS BEEN RECOVERING SOME OF THE GROUND HE LOST IN THE EARLY PRIMARIES, AND IS EXPECTED TO WIN THE TEXAS PRIMARY ON 1 MARCH AND TO PICK UP 700 OF THE 900 SOUTHERN DELEGATES TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION; HE NEEDS 1.130 ALL TOLD TO WIN. MR. SONNENFELDT IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN TELEPHONING FORMER COLLEAGUES IN THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND ASKING THEM TO ACCEPT JOINT - OR SOLE - RESPONSIBILITY FOR DOCUMENTS DATING FROM THE NIXON YEARS THAT ESPOUSE SIMILAR THEORIES ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. OLD ALLEGATIONS ABOUT SONNENFELDT LEAKING STATE DOCUMENTS HAVE SURFACED AGAIN, THOUGH FOREIGN REPORT SHOULD MAKE IT FLATLY CLEAR THAT LAST WEEK'S STORY DID NOT COME FROM A LEAK BY HIM, AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT AS A WHOLE HAS BEEN A VERY LEAKY PLACE INDEED IN RECENT YEARS. THERE ARE ALSO ACCUSATIONS OF FAULTY ANALYSIS: FOR EXAMPLE. SONNENFELDT'S ALLEGED REJECTION. BACK IN 1962. OF THE IDEA THAT RUSSIA MIGHT PUT MISSILES IN CUBA. AND HIS DISMISSAL MORE RECENTLY. OF THE POSSIBLE DRAMATIC IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN GRAIN DEAL WITH RUSSIA IN 1972-73. (A RECENT STUDY BY MILES COSTICK SUGGESTS THAT THE COST OF THE DEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSUMER WAS \$3.3 BILLION OVER THE FOLLOWING NINE MONTHS.)

BUT THE MAIN TARGET FOR SUCH CHARGES IS NOT MR. SONNENFELDT BUT HIS BOSS, AND MANY PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON BELIEVE THAT MR. KISSINGER HIMSELF MAY RESIGN BEFORE THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NOVEMBER. A KEY POLITICAL FACTOR HERE IS MR. FORD'S DETERMINED EFFORT TO RECRUIT MR. JOHN CONNALLY TO HIS CAMPAIGN BEFORE THE TEXAS PRIMARY. MR. CONNALLY DISPLAYED HIS INTEREST IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THROUGH HIS ABLE CHAIRMANSHIP OF A CONFERENCE ON ITALY AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LAST WEEK. HE MAKES LITTLE SECRET OF HIS VICE-PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS, AND MIGHT CORCEIVABLY BE PERSUADED TO TAKE MR. KISSINGER'S JOB AS A FIRST INSTALLMENT. IF SO. THE HANDOVER COULD EVEN TAKE PLACE THIS MONTH.

A FORMIDABLE PHALANX OF OPPONENTS (INCLUDING JAMES UNCLASSIFIED

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SCHLESINGER, ADMIRAL ZUMWALT. PAUL NITZE. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. AND MANY SENIOR FIGURES WITHIN THE DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY) IS NOW ARRAYED AGAINST MR. KISSINGER'S HANDLING OF FOREIGN POLICY. THEIR MAIN FOCUS. AS ALWAYS. IS THE DANGER OF SEEKING A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH A RUSSIA THAT IS BENT ON STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY. AND THE ALLEGED FAILURE TO DEFEND WESTERN INTERESTS IN OTHER FIELDS FIRMLY ENOUGH - CURRENTLY. FOR EXAMPLE. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE PANAMA CANAL, WHICH MR. KISSINGER IS WILLING TO HAND OVER TO PANAMA. ONE OF THEIR MOST TELLING ARGUMENTS IS MR. KISSINGER'S DISINCLINATION TO COMMUNICATE THE FULL EXTENT OF THE SOVIET THREAT. AND THERE HAVE BEEN DETAILED ALLEGATIONS OF AN ATTEMPT BY HIM TO SUPPRESS EVIDENCE OF SYSTEMATIC SOVIET VIOLATIONS OF THE SALT MISSILE AGREEMENT. AND OF THE STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES OF ECONOMIC "LINKAGE".

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BUT IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE STRATEGIC AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES AT STAKE DO NOT BECOME ENSNARED IN A NEW ROUND OF PERSONAL VENDETTAS OF THE KIND THAT DID SO MUCH TO DAMAGE AMERICA'S PUBLIC LIFE UNDER THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION. FURTHER CLUES TO MR. KISSINGER'S WORLD-VIEW WHICH SUGGEST THAT IN SOME AREAS HE IS TOUGHER THAN IN OTHERS, CAN BE GLEANED FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM THAT HE SENT TO AMERICAN OFFICIALS AFTER THE LONDON MEETING LAST DECEMBER, AT THE SAME TIME AS THE SONNENFELDT DOCUMENT. FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHED SOME BRIEF EXTRACTS FROM THE SECRET KISSINGER CABLE ON 10 MARCH; IT IS NOW ABLE, AGAIN EXCLUSIVELY, TO PUBLISH THE BULK OF THAT TEXT. LIKE THE SONNENFELDT DOCUMENT, THE SEVEN-PAGE KISSINGER MEMORANDUM IS PREFACED BY A PARAGRAPH DESCRIBING IT AS A "RON-VERBATIM SUMMARY" INTENDED FOR THE "BACKGROUND GUIDANCE" OF RECIPIENTS. THE MOST REVEALING SECTIONS OF THE TEXT RELATE TO THE "UNACCEPTABILITY" OF COMMUNIST PARTIES ENTERING GOVERNMENTS IN WESTERN EUROPE, ALTHOUGH KISSINGER REFRAINS FROM OUTLINING ANY SPECIFIC COURSES OF ACTION THAT AMERICA MIGHT

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ADOPT TO PREVENT THE ACCESSION, OF COMMUNIST PARTIES TO POWER IN SOUTHERN EUROPE. HIS SUGGESTION THAT A COMMUNIST WESTERN EUROPE WOULD BE A "HEADACHE" FOR RUSSIA AS WELL AS AMERICA IS ONLY SUPERFICIALLY BIZARRE.

PART OF HIS ANALYSIS, WITH WHICH HIS HARD-NOSED CRITICS WILL AGREE, IS THAT EVEN IF SUCCESSFUL FORMS OF COMMUNISM IN WESTERN EUROPE PROVE TO BE GENUINELY ANTI-SOVIET, THIS WOULD NOT REDUCE THE DANGERS TO NATO - OR (THOUGH HE DOES NOT SAY SO) THE RISK OF CONTAGION. AFTER ALL, "ANTI-SOVIET" COMMUNISM IS MORE LIKELY TO SPREAD IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES THAN STALINIST ORTHODOXY. A VITAL GLOSS TO MR. KISSINGER'S WARNINGS ON THIS THEME IS THE WIDESPREAD CONFUSION IN THE AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ON HOW TO HANDLE ITALY. THE DEFEATIST VIEW IS SPREADING THAT AMERICA WILL HAVE TO LIVE WITH AN ALLENDE-STYLE COALITION IN ITALY BECAUSE, AS ONE HIGH OFFICIAL PUT IT, "THERE ARE NO OTHER FACTORS TO PLAY WITH."

2. FOLLOWING THE ABOVE, THE FOREIGN REPORT PUBLISHES A COMPRESSED TEXT, I.E. VERBATIM BUT WITH A FEW FINAL SENTENCES AND ONE PARAGRAPH MISSING, OF STATE 24977 OF FEBRUARY 12, 1976.

3. ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH FOLLOWING TEXT.

"TAKEN IN TANDEM WITH THE SONNENFELDT DOCUMENT" THE
KISSINGER MEMORANDUM MIGHT SEEM TO REPRESENT A STATEMENT
OF A "TWO-BLOCK" SYSTEM FOR EUROPE - A NEW EFFORT TO
FORMULATE A "HANDS-OFF" POLICY FOR BOTH EAST AND WEST.
THE TROUBLE IS (A) THAT RUSSIA IS NOT DISPOSED TO
SUPPORT SUCH A POLICY: AND (B) THAT THERE ARE NO GUIDE-
LINES ON HOW AMERICA MIGHT ENFORCE A "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE"
FOR WESTERN EUROPE."

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